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VISIT OF

BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST DELEGATION
TO CHINA, USSR AND SATELLITES

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I. SUMMARY.

1. Introduction.

a. It will be recalled that before and after the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) (Moscow, 27 January - 5 February 1959) officials of the CPSU held secret discussions with representatives of the Communist parties in attendance in order to assess developments in the International Communist Movement since the last general meeting of Communist parties in November 1957. The discussions ranged from a consideration of broad questions of Communist propaganda and relations between parties to an examination of tactics and operations. A special clandestine conference of Latin American Communist party delegates brought out the high degree of interest of the USSR and the CPSU in developments in Latin America, and made more concrete the program of action developed for Latin America in Moscow during the November 1957 special meetings. When the foreign delegates later traveled to China, Chinese Communist leaders gave them strong indications of their desire to expand Peiping's influence, and made offers of training in Chinese experience and revolutionary tactics. This was reported in [redacted] 6 April 1959. The following report furnishes further evidence of the importance of Latin America to the CPSU and the Communist Party of China, and of their efforts to strengthen the Latin American Communist parties.

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b. Luiz Carlos Prestes, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Brazil (PCB)¹, met with members of

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the Central Committee of the PCB residing in the area of Sao Paulo on 16 January 1960 to discuss the trip to Communist China and the Soviet Union during 29 September - 9 December 1959 of a delegation from the PCB, consisting of Prestes, Carlos Nicolau Danielli, and Ramiro Luches

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Section VI, which has been issued separately
(of 10 March 1960), is included here for purposes
of completeness.

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2. The Delegation's Visit to China.

a. Mao Tse-tung criticized the way the CPSU handled the denigration of Stalin, praised Molotov, and asserted that peaceful disentanglement is a theory which has no historical precedent and that all Communist parties throughout the world should be ready to fight.

b. The Brazilian delegation was given several lectures, one of them reportedly by Mao Tse-tung, on Chinese Communist party and governmental problems. A significant point made was that the class struggle in China will not end for another twenty to fifty years. The Chinese Revolution, and others throughout the world, are a continuation of the October Revolution, and China is following the struggles of the Communist parties in Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and other Latin American countries with considerable interest.

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c. The Brazilian delegation itself gave talks and lectures in different places, including a school for Latin American Communists which formerly gave courses on an informal basis for visiting Communists, but has now developed a formal curriculum and school program.

d. Several meetings of all of the Latin American delegations were planned, but none actually took place. In the course of informal talks the following was decided:

(1) In the event of imperialist intervention in Cuba, other Latin American countries, led by their Communist parties, will give complete support to the Castro government.

(2) An armed revolution in Argentina in the near future is inevitable and the Communist Party of Argentina will probably align itself with the Peronists.

(3) A Latin American Congress must be held to discuss the formation of a Latin American labor organization to replace the moribund Confederation of Latin American Workers, the regional WFTU affiliate.

3. The Delegation's Visit to the USSR and Satellites.

a. The Brazilian delegation met in Moscow with Khrushchev and with members of the Secretariat and Presidium of the CPSU. Although CPSU leaders agreed with the present policies of the PCB, they believed that the PCB should attempt to gain greater mass influence over workers and farmers and participate more actively in mass movements, even when it is unable to play the leading role in these movements at the outset.

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b. M. A. Suslov stated that the class struggle should be stimulated, pointing out that the principal danger of the PCB today is revisionism, reformism and opportunism because of the strong penetration of bourgeois ideology. He remarked that Moscow viewed the PCB's support of the presidential candidacy of the reactionary Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott as a matter of tactics rather than principle. He told the Brazilians that the revolution might be carried out peacefully, but he added that they must "be prepared for the other possibility." He stressed the need for discipline and the importance of elevating the prestige of the PCB's Central Committee since the struggle against the personality cult tends to reduce the prestige of Party leaders.

c. O. V. Kuusinen remarked to the delegation that it was important to remember that Brazil is not a colony but an independent nation reduced by imperialism to the conditions of a monocultured country. He stated that he did not understand why the PCB's policy declaration of March 1958 did not call for the confiscation of North American businesses and capital and the annulment of all treaties and agreements prejudicial to the best interests of Brazil. (The above contrasts with the views expressed by Mao to members of the Chilean delegation visiting Peiping in October 1959, in which he referred to Latin America as a colonial area still dominated by the forces of imperialism and in which he urged the Latin American people to unite in a struggle for liberation.)

d. After leaving the Soviet Union, the Brazilian delegation visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. In Poland, Gomulka outlined some of the problems the

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Communist Party of Poland has had to face, such as farm collectivization and the rapid decline in coal exports which had created a serious economic problem. In East Germany, the PCB was invited to send a journalist to co-ordinate propaganda and write articles about Latin America, and was also requested to send films showing strikes and describing the economic plight of the masses in Brazil.

II. THE DELEGATION'S VISIT TO CHINA.

4. Special Treatment of Brazil. Delegations representing seventy-one Communist parties, including eighteen Latin American Communist parties, were in Communist China to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Chinese Communist revolution. The Communist parties of the Dominican Republic and of Haiti were not represented. The delegation representing the Communist Party of Peru arrived too late to take part in the ceremonies. The ceremonies were held in the Chinese Communist parliament (apparently the Great Hall of the People -- the assembly hall of the National People's Congress), where all of the representatives of the foreign Communist parties spoke, congratulating Communist China on its official birthday, and lauding the regime for its achievements. The Brazilian delegation was treated as the representative of one of the world's most important Communist parties outside the Communist bloc. At the commemorative celebrations the foreign delegations were invited to speak in the order of their importance. After the Communist countries came France, Italy, Indonesia, Japan, and Brazil. The Brazilian delegation was treated with respect and deference out of proportion to that accorded to delegations representing other Communist parties.

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5. Lectures Attended. The Brazilian delegation attended a series of lectures on the following subjects: the great leap forward, the internal party struggle, communes, construction of the party, the united front, relations with the bourgeoisie, social problems such as elimination of gangsterism and prostitution, hygiene and public health in Shanghai, work among agricultural communities, and the armed struggle. (It has also been reported that the PCB delegation attended three lectures in all during its stay in China. Another Latin American CP delegation in China, that of Panama, is also known to have attended at least one lecture. It is probable that other CP delegations besides that of the PCB were at these lectures, although Prestes does not reveal this information.) All of the lectures on the above subjects were given in either Peiping or Shanghai. The Brazilian delegation also travelled to other cities, visiting factories, collective farms, and universities.

6. School for Latin American Communists. The Brazilian delegation gave talks and lectures in different places in Communist China, including one which was given at a school for Latin American Communists. (The school for Latin American Communists is undoubtedly the one which, beginning in 1958, has scheduled a new course each year for Latin American Communist trainees. No PCB members have been reported in this school to date.) The courses offered at this school last between three and four months, and consist of both lectures and field trips. Formerly, the trips and lectures were given on an informal basis for visiting Communists, but they have now developed into a formal curriculum and school program. Lectures along the lines of those mentioned above are given, but they are on practical rather than theoretical

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Communist problems. The Brazilian delegation was invited to send members of the PCB to this school.

7. Meetings with Mao.

a. The Brazilian delegation met briefly with Mao Tse-tung, who spoke almost exclusively on Communist China and its problems, making little mention of other Communist parties. Mao did, however, tell the Brazilian delegation that the PCB should stress work among the Brazilian farmers, despite the continued industrial growth of the country. Mao also mentioned the problem of internal party dissension, saying that many Communist parties had had to fight leftist deviation for so long that they had lost sight of the necessity for curbing rightist deviation.

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24 February 1960, states that during its stay in Communist China the Brazilian delegation was warned by leaders of the Communist Party of China, including Mao Tse-tung, not to lose sight of curbing rightist deviation. In a meeting with leaders of the CPSU in Moscow, the Brazilian delegation was criticized for allowing bourgeois ideology to penetrate the PCB and for not placing sufficient emphasis on the class struggle and efforts to gain control of the worker-farmer proletarian masses. In line with this criticism have been the views of a significant group of leftist members of the PCB Central Committee. These members do not disagree with the strong emphasis on the anti-imperialist struggle as outlined in the document prepared by the Theses Commission for the 5th PCB National Congress, but insist that sufficient importance be given to the struggle of workers and farmers against exploitation by capitalists and large landowners. They

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also believe that the basic aim of the party should be to control and lead the proletariat and that the PCB should not abandon the class struggle by overemphasizing alliances with the bourgeoisie for electoral and other purposes.)

b. Mao made the following statements to visiting delegations from foreign Communist parties regarding CPSU policies:

(1) The denigration of Josef Stalin was handled by the CPSU in a very negative and abrupt manner, which dismissed all the merits which Stalin had.

(2) Molotov is a valiant party member with a world of experience.

(3) Peaceful disentanglement is a theory which has no historical precedent. Those who want peace must prepare themselves for war. All Communist parties throughout the world should be ready to fight.

8. Meetings with other Latin American Groups. The Brazilian delegation also met with many members of other Latin American delegations. [] another CP has reported that the Latin American delegates in China held a conference to discuss matters of common interest. No Chinese CP representatives were present at the conference. The agenda was reported as defense of the Cuban revolution, the Latin American Peoples' Congress in defense of national resources, and the peace congress.) Several meetings of all of the Latin American delegations were planned, but none

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actually took place. One such meeting was planned to discuss Cuba and the coming Latin American Peoples' Congress. (In late November 1959 the same source reported that Pedro Ventura de Araujo Pomar, a member of the CC of the PCB, had recently returned from a trip to Cuba, where he had met with representatives of the Communist parties of Cuba, Venezuela, Chile, and Argentina to discuss the organization of the Latin American Peoples' Congress. March 1960 was set as the tentative date for the holding of this congress.) It was later decided that, since representatives of different Latin American Communist parties were, at that very moment, meeting in Cuba to discuss the same matter, it would not be worthwhile to hold another meeting 12,000 miles away.

9. Relations between the PCB and other Latin American CP's. Relations between the PCB and other Latin American Communist parties have been somewhat strained in recent years, and the PCB has been partly responsible for this situation. Much of the hostility was caused by Diogenes Lopes de Arruda Camara, who was formerly responsible for dealing with other Latin American Communist parties. Camara was disliked by most of the leaders of the other Latin American Communist parties with whom he was in contact. The relation between the PCB and other Latin American Communist parties was improved as a result of informal talks held in Communist China. Other Latin American Communist parties are in accord with the present policies of the PCB, especially the policy of stressing the struggle against imperialism. In the course of the informal talks the following was decided:

a. In the event of imperialist intervention in Cuba, other Latin American countries, led by their Communist

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parties, will give complete support to the government of Fidel Castro.

b. An armed revolution in Argentina in the near future is inevitable. The Peronistas are making preparations for this revolution, and they have the support of some of the military. This revolution will be cruel and bloody. Although the Communist Party of Argentina (PCA) has not yet decided on a definite position, it will probably align itself with the Peronistas, because the main concern of the PCA is to depose Arturo Frondizi, president of Argentina, and this can only be accomplished with the aid of the Peronistas. Frondizi is completely controlled by the United States, as can be seen from his efforts to bring Argentina under the domination of the International Monetary Fund and the Export-Import Bank. Unfortunately, the Peronistas will gain control of the government after the overthrow of Frondizi. The PCA hopes to be able to obtain favor by supporting the future government in its quest for power. Other Latin American Communist parties will be greatly affected by the outcome of the struggle in Argentina, and they must begin to formulate a unified position. (Since the time of this account, the head of the PCA, Victorio Codovilla, has made it clear, in an article in the February 1960 issue of Problems of Peace and Socialism, that the Party plans to act jointly with the Peronistas to counter an alleged attempt by "reactionaries" to establish a "naked dictatorship -- with or without Frondizi." Codovilla states that the Communists will take advantage of "democratic and nationalist forces" in the ranks of the armed services to prevent a military coup, and to push for the establishment of a "broad democratic coalition government" that will be more radical than previous regimes.)

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c. A Latin American congress must be held to discuss the formation of a Latin American labor organization to replace the Confederacao dos Trabalhadores da America Latina (Confederation of Latin American Workers, CTAL). During a recent international trade union meeting in Chile, work was started on this. (The Second National Congress of the Single Center of Chilean Workers (CUTCh) was held in Santiago from 4 to 8 December 1959, and was attended by trade union delegations from Argentina, Bolivia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Communist China, France, Uruguay, Venezuela, and the USSR. Many of these delegations included members who were also officials of the World Federation of Trade Unions. During the course of the congress it was resolved to organize a new Latin American trade union federation which would be independent of both the ORIT and the CTAL. At a meeting of the WFTU Executive Committee in Bucharest in December 1959 it was decided quietly to dissolve the CTAL. A WFTU official has stated that the WFTU would attempt to promote the establishment of a new regional organization which would encompass worker groups of all political sentiments.)

III. LECTURE ON THE LESSONS FROM THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

10. Lessons from the Chinese Revolution. The following is the translation of an internal document of the PCB composed from notes taken on one of the lectures given in October 1959 in Shanghai or Peiping for the Brazilian delegation. (It should be noted that other Latin American CP delegations may have attended these lectures also. This lecture seems noteworthy for its mildness and frankness of tone.)

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a. Help and Hindrance. The aid that the Communist parties of the world have given the people of China in their struggle is greatly appreciated. The Latin American Communist parties have been especially sympathetic toward the Chinese people, because the people of Latin America are also oppressed. China continues to be oppressed in the sense that the western world continues to oppose recognition of China, and that China continues to be economically underdeveloped. The Communist Party of China realizes that it is necessary to aid the masses, both during the revolution and in the construction of socialism.

b. Comparison with Brazil. The Brazilian bourgeoisie is more powerful than the Chinese bourgeoisie. The people of Brazil have a higher living standard than that enjoyed by the people of China before the revolution. Brazil will develop even further through socialism. Brazil now has problems which only socialism can solve. For this reason, the leaders of the Communist Party of Brazil and of the Brazilian working class must strive to reach the next step toward socialism.

c. Past Errors. In the past, one of our mistakes in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle was the speed with which we attempted to conquer the large cities, where opposition was the strongest. We should have concentrated our strength in the rural areas, where the reactionary forces were weakest. From there, we should have moved on to the large cities. We have since corrected this mistake, however, and the situation has improved. In the beginning we were guilty of leftist errors in our agrarian reform movement. We

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confiscated the land of the large landholders without returning any land for them to work. In China the class struggle is very violent. It cannot be said that we should only confiscate landholdings of more than 500 hectares. It is necessary to confiscate all land, and to redistribute this land on a basis whereby the wealthy farmers are given the same amount of land to work as other farmers. China has a large population and a scarcity of land. In China, 200 million of the 500 million farmers have only one mou (one-sixth of an acre). Before the revolution, sixty percent of the land in China was in the hands of large landholders. Although the poor and middle-class farmers made up ninety percent of the rural population, eighty percent of the land was in the hands of large landholders or rich farmers. The agrarian revolution in China was, therefore, very violent. Brazil, on the other hand, does not have a scarcity of land. In China there is no longer any problem regarding large landholders and rich farmers. There is, however, a problem regarding a certain group of middle-class farmers who favor capitalism over socialism. Rather than confiscate the land of this group, we must persuade it to change its way of thinking. The Communist Party of China is attempting to accomplish this through the education of this group. We are supported by ninety percent of the farmers, and the other ten percent are not in a position to offer opposition. The class struggle is still going on in China, and will not end for another twenty to fifty years. Although the capitalist regime has ended, the bourgeois ideology remains. Industrialization has increased greatly in China, and agriculture has become more mechanized. The number of people's communes is increasing. The desire to do things on an individual basis is decreasing. Collective life and

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production are becoming a custom. Bourgeois ideology is spread by means of the intellectual bourgeoisie and capitalists, and, in rural areas, by the rich farmers and the obstinate group of middle-class farmers. A long struggle will be required to liquidate this ideology.

d. The Future. We are planning to overtake Great Britain in the most important aspects of industrial and agricultural production. Even after doing this, however, we will not have solved the most important problems, because China has 650 million people, as compared with 50 million people in Great Britain. We originally planned to surpass Great Britain in per capita production within fifty years, and ten years have already passed. We hope that you will help us to carry out our plan, and that the world situation will remain peaceful. We are familiar with the class struggle. Today, however, we are struggling against nature, and we are not as familiar with this struggle. The socialist revolution requires technical knowledge. We are being aided, however, by the Soviet Union and other advanced socialist countries. We can learn from these countries, but we cannot copy everything because conditions in China are different from what they are in other socialist countries. In the past, the CCP has been guilty of committing dogmatic errors and of following an erratic line, but this has now been corrected.

IV. LECTURE ON THE HISTORY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

11. Survey of the Chinese Revolution. The following is the translation of an internal document of the PCB composed

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from notes taken on one of the lectures given in October 1959 in Shanghai or Peiping for the Brazilian delegation. This lecture was reported as given by Mao Tse-tung.

a. Preparation for the Construction of Socialism.

The way for the construction of socialism has been opened up in our country in the past ten years, but the construction itself has just begun. It is not an easy task to reach the point where the construction of socialism can be started. Some years ago we experienced the old democratic revolution, which was without the direction of the working class. This period of the Chinese revolution started in 1840 (Opium War). In 1911 a victory was achieved against the Manchu government; and the Nanking government, a bourgeois type of republic directed by Sun Yat-sen, was established. The Communist Party did not exist at that time, being established ten years later. The establishment of the Communist Party changed the complexion of the revolution. In the beginning, the Communist Party was made up of a small group of revolutionary intellectuals. The first party congress was attended by only twelve delegates. The revolution of 1911 was a failure, and the bourgeois government lasted only three months. Political power fell into the hands of the large landholders. Earlier, it had fallen into the hands of military leaders. Neither the landowners, the militarists, nor the bourgeoisie granted any liberties.

b. The Struggle against Chiang Kai-shek. The Communist Party was formed in such an environment. From 1927 to 1949, Chiang Kai-shek maintained a military dictatorship in China. It was a cruel dictatorship, such as is still found in some Asian and Latin American countries. We co-operated

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with Sun Yat-sen, and, after his death, with Chiang Kai-shek. The bourgeoisie came to power with the aid of the Communist Party, and, in return, the Communist Party was made illegal. The leaders of the Communist Party were not ideologically prepared, and did not realize that friends could turn into oppressive enemies. We had no choice other than to fight. The guerrilla wars lasted from 1927 until 1937. When the Japanese invaded China, Chiang decided to co-operate with the Communist Party. However, at the same time that Chiang was co-operating with the Communist Party in fighting the Japanese, he was carrying out anti-Communist activities. The Communist Party was caught between Chiang and the Japanese. We were co-operating with Chiang and fighting him at the same time. This continued from 1937 until 1945. It was during this time that the necessary conditions for our assumption of political power were achieved. At the end of the Second World War we were in a position to confront Chiang when he attacked us. We were preparing ourselves ideologically. Twice we had co-operated with the bourgeoisie. The first time, we were not prepared, and, as a result, the party was made illegal. The second time, however, we were prepared for the counter-attack. The period between the summer of 1945 and the summer of 1946 was one of negotiations, without any violent struggles. We were prepared ideologically when Chiang began his general offensive in 1946, and we were able to run him off the continent and set up a popular government.

c. The Bourgeoisie. Each country has its different conditions. In each, however, it is necessary to distinguish between the two groups of bourgeoisie, namely the national bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie linked with

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imperialism. In our three and one-half year struggle, our targets were the imperialists and the bourgeoisie headed by Chiang. We never fought against the national bourgeoisie. Even now, the national bourgeoisie is co-operating with us and is represented in the government. In China there are eight political parties representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie, none of which had liberty under the Kuomintang. One can see that the bourgeoisie cannot achieve victory in the nationalist and democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism without the aid of the Communist Party and the working class. Imperialism and feudalism were destroyed in China between 1840 and 1949.

d. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The bourgeoisie participated in the revolution of 1911 and in the war against Japan, but was not able to establish a democratic republic with a broad anti-imperialist program. Only with the aid of the Communist Party could feudalism and imperialism be destroyed. This revolution did not infringe upon the lands of the national bourgeoisie or the individual farmers. The bourgeois democratic revolution in China lasted 109 years, and opened the way for the socialist revolution. For the past ten years we have been carrying on a socialist revolution. The mere destruction of imperialism and feudalism does not open the way for a socialist revolution. Hegemony of the working class and a dictatorship of the proletariat are prerequisites for opening the way for a socialist revolution. In referring to a dictatorship of the proletariat, I am referring to a dictatorship of the farmers and workers. A dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be achieved without the aid of the farmers. The farmers played an important part in both our revolution and the October

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Revolution in the Soviet Union. Lenin pointed out the need for a worker-farmer alliance. In a country such as China, where 80 percent of the population is rural, a regime cannot be consolidated without the aid of the farmers.

e. Economic Construction. We have achieved considerable success in the past ten years. It is generally said that the revolution and the construction of socialism can be carried out at the same time. During our first eight years, however, emphasis was placed on the revolution, clearing the way for the construction of socialism. In the last two years we have concentrated on economic construction, and this economic construction will be our principal consideration for the next ten to twenty years. Obstacles in the interior of the country have been eliminated. Besides the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we have the support of all of the Communists in the world. We also have the support of many people who, although not Communists, are anti-imperialist and in favor of peace and democracy.

f. The Russian Revolution. Our revolution, and others throughout the world, are a continuation of the October Revolution. Both the Communist parties which have gained power and those which have not are part of the revolutionary forces. Their objectives are the same. We are following the struggles of the Communist parties in Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and other Latin American countries with considerable interest.

g. The Growth of Communism. The situation today is quite different from what it used to be. There are

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Communist parties in almost all of the countries of the world. Of the eighty-three Communist parties in the world, seventy-one sent delegates to China for the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Three others did not send delegates because the invitations were received too late. Nine Communist parties which were invited to send delegates did not do so. San Marino, with a population of 26,000, has its Communist party. Great changes have taken place in recent years, and even greater changes will take place in the next ten to fifteen years. It is possible that, even in China, further changes will take place. Fourteen years have passed since the end of the Second World War, and we have made every possible effort to maintain peace during which time we can obtain more successes in our economic construction. All of the Communist parties in the world are striving for peace. With another fifteen years of peace, the socialist world, headed by the Soviet Union, will be far more advanced than the capitalist countries. There are more than one billion inhabitants in the socialist countries, only slightly less than half of the world's population. The rest of the population of the world is not united. The majority of Latin Americans, Asians, and Africans are struggling against imperialism. The imperialist countries (United States, Canada, France, West Germany, England, New Zealand, and part of South Africa) have only 400 million inhabitants in all. Moreover, the population in these countries is divided into classes. They have bourgeois and Communist political parties. There are differences among the members of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of England, France, and the United States are not the same. We have every reason to be optimistic. Our prospects are bright. The future is for the Communists and not the bourgeoisie, a fact which has been evident since the October Revolution.

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h. The CP of China. Before the October Revolution there were only isolated groups of Communists, but immediately before the revolution, these groups merged into a great party. The history of the Communist Party of China, which is thirty-eight years old, is similar. In 1921 a small group of Communists elected twelve delegates to the first party congress. We suffered setbacks, and we committed errors. We committed our first rightist error in 1927. The Kuomintang forced us into clandestinity. We suffered our second setback in 1934, and we were forced to make the long march. We lost our bases in the south and went to the north. We were guilty of leftist errors. These errors are very important in the education of the party. After 1934, during the period of Japanese resistance, we developed a correct political line in accordance with the conditions in China. We began to make a distinction between the two groups of bourgeoisie, a distinction which we had been a long time in understanding. We began to understand the farmers, and the distinction between the classes existing among this group. We had the large landholders and the farmers. The large landholders fell into three groups, according to the amount of land they owned. The farmers also fell into three groups, these being the poor, the middle class, and the rich, which had capitalist tendencies. We did not fight against the rich farmer at the same time that we fought the large landholders. Moreover, when we fought against the large landholders, we left those with smaller holdings for the last.

i. Imperialists and Landowners. A distinction must be made among the imperialists. It was a long time before we recognized the distinction between the masses and the imperialist leaders. We must distinguish between the

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imperialists with whom we have immediate and direct conflicts and those with whom we do not. With regard to capitalist countries, there are periods when we can fight them, and there are periods when we can live at peace with them. In Brazil at the present time, the farmers' principal conflict is not with the large landholders but with the imperialists. There are many large landholders who are opposed to imperialism, and these large landholders should not be fought at the present time.

V. THE DELEGATION'S VISIT TO THE USSR AND SATELLITES.

12. Visit to the USSR. After leaving Communist China, the Brazilian delegation visited the Soviet Union, arriving there in time for the commemoration of the thirty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The delegation made a tour of Soviet factories and visited an atomic energy plant in the Moscow area. Soon after its arrival the delegation met briefly with Nikita Khrushchev. The Brazilian delegation also met with a commission made up of two members of the Secretariat and three members of the Presidium of the CPSU. (According to Izvestiya of 18 November 1959, the Brazilian delegation was received on 17 November in Moscow by M. A. Suslov, Presidium and Secretariat member; O. V. Kuusinen, Presidium and Secretariat member; P. N. Pospelov, candidate of the Presidium and member of the Secretariat; and B. N. Ponomarev, Central Committee member.) The members of this commission explained that Khrushchev had gone to the Crimea to rest up before attending a congress of the Communist Party of Hungary. Prestes was told that, if he wished to discuss any matters personally with Khrushchev, he would be

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flown to the Crimea. Although the leaders of the CPSU agree with the present policies of the PCB, they believe that the PCB should attempt to gain greater mass support and participate more actively in mass meetings. The PCB should actively participate in mass movements even when it is unable to play the leading role in these movements. The PCB should not strive to achieve hegemony of the proletariat immediately where this is an impossibility. Naturally, in joining mass movements, the Party should seek to gain control of these movements but should not insist upon leadership as a pre-requisite for participation. Before leaving the Soviet Union, Prestes gave a speech at the Higher Party School in Moscow. (The Higher Party School in Moscow is the CPSU establishment used for most of the training given to foreign Communists in the USSR.)

13. Visit to Poland. After leaving the Soviet Union, where it had remained for twenty days, the Brazilian delegation visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany. The delegation spent about four days in each of these countries. In Poland the delegation was received by Wladislaw Gomulka, who outlined some of the problems that the Communist Party of Poland has had to face. The main problem has been that of farm collectivization. The piety and individuality of the Polish farmers make them radically hostile to a Communist state and to collectivization. Many of the Polish people have refused to accept Soviet leadership in the Communist movement because of traditional hostility toward the Soviet Union. Gomulka said that a serious economic problem has been created in Poland by a rapid decline in coal exports. Western Europe, under pressure from the United States, has turned to the use of oil instead

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of coal for many of its fuel needs. This has resulted in a coal surplus, and many mines have been forced to shut down, creating unemployment or the placement of miners in other work for which they have no skill. Collectivization is progressing in Poland, although on a much slower scale than originally envisioned. There is no solution for the coal problem other than developing other exports, and Poland has been quite successful in this.

14. Visit to Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia the Brazilian delegation was received by one Novotny (undoubtedly Antonin Novotny, president and first secretary of the Czech Party). While in Prague, the delegation met with the Soviet editor-in-chief of Problems of Peace and Socialism, an international Communist publication. This man complained that the PCB had not submitted articles for publication in this magazine, and suggested that it might be interested in contributing some articles for the current debate going on in the magazine on the bourgeoisie. He said that a debate on contemporary colonialism would soon be started, and he invited the PCB to start off this debate by submitting an article on the colonial position of Brazil. This man said that the staff of Problems of Peace and Socialism was satisfied with the Brazilian representative on the magazine, who was not a part of the editorial staff. (A usually reliable source recently reported that Fued Saad, a Brazilian medical doctor and a member of the PCB, was in Prague as the head of the Brazilian section of Problems of Peace and Socialism, as of late November 1959.) Prestes spoke before a group of Czechoslovakian Communists in Prague.

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15. Visit to East Germany. In East Germany the Brazilian delegation met with many Communist leaders. As in other countries visited, Prestes made several speeches and the delegation visited many factories and schools. The East Germans have a tremendous propaganda machine, and one of the major activities of the Party is the preparation of propaganda to be sent into West Germany. Refugees are now coming into East Germany from West Germany, instead of leaving East Germany as they had been doing in the past. (Refugees are still leaving East Germany for West Germany although in smaller numbers than before.) The PCB was invited to send a journalist to East Germany to co-ordinate propaganda and write articles about Latin America. The East German government offered to pay the salary and expenses of this journalist. The PCB was requested to send films to East Germany, showing strikes and describing the economic plight of the masses in Brazil. During his stay in East Germany Prestes visited the concentration camp where his wife died during the Second World War. Prestes also laid a wreath on the tomb of Harry Berger, an international Communist leader who, at one time, served in Brazil. The East German party is now trying to reclaim Berger, who was condemned by the party as a deviationist. Articles have recently appeared in newspapers in East Germany, pointing out that many of Berger's deviations later became party policy.

VI. DISCUSSION OF PCB POLICIES IN MOSCOW.

The following is the translation of an internal document of the PCB composed from notes taken by the Brazilian delegation during its discussions with members of the Presidium

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and Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow in November 1959. These remarks were made by CPSU leaders M. A. Suslov and O. V. Kuusinen.

16. Need for Closer Party Ties with Workers and Farmers.

Suslov. Soon after the Twenty-First Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), a delegation representing your Central Committee (CC), headed by Carlos Marighella, visited our country and met with our CC. At the request of this delegation, we expressed opinions on some of the documents of the PCB. Our opinions were essentially as follows: Some of the documents, especially the Political Declaration of March 1958, did not devote sufficient attention to the demands of the workers and farmers. The Party cannot win the support of the masses in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle without devoting attention to these demands. We were afraid that the PCB would lose its link with the masses. We stressed the necessity for maintaining closer connections with the working class, because without the overwhelming support of the working class and the farmers, the Party cannot carry out its revolutionary tasks. In order to gain this overwhelming support, the Party must devote sufficient attention to the defense of the material interests of the workers and farmers. Other classes, such as the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, and the intellectuals, naturally play an important part in the revolution, and it is necessary to strive for an alliance with these classes in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle. The broader this alliance is, the easier it is for the Party to carry out its tasks. Even the large

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landowners and monopolists can take a certain role in the anti-imperialist struggle, but only in a given stage of the revolution. These groups cannot, however, be mixed with the working class or the national bourgeoisie.

17. Anti-Imperialist vs. Anti-Feudal Struggle.

We familiarized ourselves with your documents on the international situation, the balance of discussion, and the labor resolution. We were well impressed with these documents because they indicated that your Party was seriously preparing for its national congress. In general, your Party is well oriented. If we were Brazilians, we would sign these documents and vote for them. We do, however, have some suggestions as to how these documents could be improved upon. You were correct in stressing the anti-imperialist struggle. You must be careful in this regard, however, not to forget the anti-feudal struggle. These two aspects of the revolution are intimately connected. By stressing the anti-feudal aspects of the revolution you can win the support of the farmers in your anti-imperialist struggle. It is possible that it will be necessary to take certain action in the course of the anti-feudal struggle which will bring about the loss of support from certain of the large landowners. This will result in less harm, however, than accepting the backward situation of the farmers and losing their valuable support. You mentioned the necessity for stimulating the class struggle, and this should be done. If the working class remains silent, without stating its demands, it receives no consideration whatsoever. From this point of view, we were pleased with the documents on the labor movement and the balance of discussion. It seems to us that

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some joint demands of the farmers and workers should be outlined in order to aid them in their struggle. When the workers and farmers overcome their enemies, they will have more consideration for our forces.

18. Revisionism the Current Danger.

We would like to make a comment in regard to the principal danger of the Party at the present time. Since you are naturally in a better position to judge this than we are, we do not expect you to accept our opinions without qualification. We have the following impression: The principal danger to a Party changes from time to time. At one time it might be revisionism, and another time it might be dogmatism and sectarianism. In 1957 the principal danger to your Party was dogmatism. Two years later leftist deviation became a serious problem, although dogmatism and sectarianism, which are never completely eliminated, still remained a problem. A question comes to mind: Has not the situation changed now? Are not revisionism, reformism, opportunism, and related problems the principal danger to your Party at the present time? Your Party has been penetrated by a strong bourgeois ideology, stronger than that found in many Communist parties in capitalist countries. North American imperialists are making an effort to subordinate the working class to their influence and, through revisionism, opportunism, and reformism, to destroy the party of the workers. We just want to plant a seed of doubt in your minds so that you will carefully examine your position.

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19. Recognition of Vacillation of Bourgeoisie.

Kuusinen. I have something to add in connection with what Suslov has said. Sectarians are not able to take advantage of the points of conflict existing among our enemies. As a rule, the sectarians are not understood by the masses. They are dogmatists who cannot adapt themselves to the peculiarities of their area. We want you to study the situation in Brazil. We have always advised Party members to take into consideration the peculiarities of their area. An important thing to remember is that Brazil is not a colony, but an independent nation reduced by imperialism to the conditions of a monocultured country. The Brazilians are aware of the fact that the differences between their country and North American imperialism are increasing. These differences, however, are complex. It is important to take advantage of the differences existing among the bourgeoisie. It is wrong, however, to exaggerate these differences. This group will join with you when it is in its interest, but cannot be counted on for continuous aid, because it has its connections with the reactionary forces. The bourgeoisie wants to be assured of the support of the masses, and, in Brazil, is attempting to assure this, to a great extent, through the Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB). The PTB is attempting to make the masses subservient to the bourgeoisie. In struggling against imperialism, the national bourgeoisie is gaining the support of the masses. This does not contribute to the advance of nationalist tasks in the anti-imperialist struggle. The PCB must always take into consideration the vacillation of the bourgeoisie. I do not understand why the Declaration of March did not call for the confiscation of North American businesses and capital, and the annulment of all

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treaties and agreements which are prejudicial to the best interests of Brazil. Nor do I understand why any clashes between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie should be considered harmful at this state of the revolution. Strikes are considered clashes with the bourgeoisie, and the PCB is certainly not opposed to strikes. Certain clashes with the bourgeoisie are inevitable. The desire to form a united front of democratic forces and to form a democratic coalition government is justified. Suslov was correct in saying that the revolution cannot be successful without the aid of the masses, and this aid can only be achieved through supporting the daily and immediate demands of the masses.

20. Hegemony of the Working Class.

Suslov. The most important issue is that of hegemony. I want to alert you to the sectarian approach to this issue. The revisionists avoid the issue of the hegemony of the working class. The sectarians consider the question of the hegemony of the working class to be one to be considered in the beginning stages of the revolution. This question of hegemony is one which must be considered in all stages of the revolution. This hegemony of the working class is the result of the tremendous struggle of the Communist party. This hegemony is created in the course of the struggle. The task of the Party is to work daily to gain the support of the masses, gaining hegemony of the working class day by day. You must strengthen your connections with the working classes and the labor unions. You must aid the farmers and help to strengthen their organizations. You must penetrate different organizations. The Cubans are correct in saying that they

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must strive for the hegemony of the working class. Even Fidel Castro cannot remain immune to this idea.

21. Support of Lott a Tactical Maneuver.

We consider your support of the presidential candidacy of Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott to be a matter of tactics rather than principle. It is important in this class struggle for the Party to retain its identity, exerting its influence among the masses and clarifying its position before the masses. If Lott is elected, even though he is a reactionary, the Party will gain through his election. If Lott, on the other hand, were a democrat, and the Party supported him without clarifying its position before the masses, it would gain nothing. At a given moment, the Party might make a gain, but, in the end, the masses would not be able to distinguish between the PCB and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties.

22. Need to be Prepared for Armed Struggle.

We believe that it is possible that the Brazilian revolution can be carried out peacefully, but you must be prepared for the other possibility.

23. Need for Discipline.

Your system of internal democracy and collective leadership is good. You must not neglect discipline, however. Once passed, a resolution cannot be applied without discipline. It is important to elevate the prestige of the CC. The struggle against the personality cult tends to reduce the prestige of Party

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leaders. We are in favor of Party leaders enjoying a special prestige. We are in favor of having the prestige of Party leaders elevated through internal democracy and collective leadership. This will help to speed up the consolidation of the Party.

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1. [redacted] comment. All of the members of the CCPCB residing in the area of the City of Sao Paulo attended this meeting with Prestes with the exception of Antonio Chamorro. The complete list of persons in attendance was as follows:

Luiz Carlos Prestes	"Pepe" (PCB alias)
Ramiro Luchesi	Maria Salas
Calil Chadde	Herondina Arruda
Sergio Alves Holmos	Armando Mazzo
Moises Waischenker	Angelo de Arroyo
Pedro Ventura de Araujo Pomar	Orli Andrezzo
Orlando Luiz Piotto	Lourival Costa Vilar
Nestor Vera	Domingos Pereira Marques
Artigas (fnu), in whose home the meeting was held	

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Artigas (fnu), an engineer, resides in the Santo Amaro area of the City of Sao Paulo. [redacted] Comment. Artigas (fnu) is possibly identifiable with Joao Batista Vilanova Artigas, an engineer and a long-time member of the PCB in the area of the City of Sao Paulo.

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